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Purpose, teaching program, teachers and principals, students, and school-state relations are various aspects of Finnish provincial folk high schools treated in this document which covers three major periods of development: 1889-1916; 1917-1939; 1946-1966. The schools focused on economics, vocation, retraining, patriotism, social preparedness, self-knowledge, self-improvement, and responsible citizenship. Although many of the programs of the early folk high schools were general, some concentrated on civic education--others on practical subjects. All periods showed a high percentage of Finnish-speaking participants, a smaller percentage of Swedish-speaking ones, and a representative number of teenagers; while the third period showed a decrease in the percentage of students from the agrarian population. It was only after 1925 that folk high school principals were required to have an M.A. degree, teacher training, and experience in teaching in the folk high school. State aid which was made statutory in 1926 absorbed 70% of the total cost by 1959. The folk academies were and have remained more theoretical and academic than the folk high schools. (A glossary of terms and an annotated bibliography are included). (nl)

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THE PROVINCIAL FOLK SCHOOL IN FINLAND

By Heikki Leskinen

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FOREWORD

One of the main emphases in a modern society is the training of adults. The basic school system should create and mold the attitudes of every member of the society. Its program should initiate a will to continue in the acquisition of knowledge far beyond the formal school years; in fact, ideally throughout the whole of active life. Adult education must be regarded as a procedure essential to the maintenance and further development of our economic and cultural standards.

This monograph describes one of the central forms of adult education in Finland. It is of great value that this study has been published in the United States where I have found great interest in the Scandinavian adult education system.

In Finland it is the function of the folk high school to impart to the citizens such knowledge and skills as are required for civic life, to provide for continuation of studies, and to promote private study and desire for self-development.

The folk high schools in Finland have in recent years encountered many problems due to the rapid development of general education. The educational explosion, marked by a longer schooling period for the average citizen, has led to a stopping and, in some years, to a decrease in the number of folk high school students. However, they are still an important cultural factor.

I hope that this monograph will help the reader understand the nature and special characteristics of the Finnish folk high school system.

Pauli Opas
First Secretary for
Press and Cultural Affairs
Embassy of Finland
Washington, D.C.

PREFACE

Several years ago a grant of money was made to the Bureau of Studies in Adult Education by Mr. C. E. Skiles of Mt. Carmel, Illinois. This money was offered to assist the Bureau in the publication and dissemination of occasional monographs in adult education. The monographs were to treat subjects of concern to persons interested in particular problems and areas of adult education. Up to the present time the two published monographs, Adult Education in Sweden and Adult Education in Liberia, have been helpful additions to the work of the Bureau. Two more monographs are being prepared for publication. One deals with the international application of a system of training adult participants in educational programs (developed by the faculty of the Bureau of Studies in Adult Education), and the other describes a theory of education for the emotionally disturbed adult.

This volume, The Provincial Folk School in Finland, is the third in this monograph series. It was written by Dr. Heikki Leskinen, a citizen of Finland who has spent several years working on his doctorate in adult education at Indiana University. Particularly suited to be the author of this work, Dr. Leskinen has been a teacher in a Finnish folk school and also has been employed for many years in Finland by Kansanvalistusseura (The Society for the Enlightenment of the People). This Society is a part of the Finnish national educational system, and it is designed to accomplish precisely what the name indicates.

Much of the material in this monograph was extracted from the doctoral dissertation written by Dr. Leskinen. It was rewritten for this publication under the guidance of Professor John McKinley of the Bureau of Studies in Adult Education of Indiana University.

Paul Bergevin
Professor of Adult Education
and
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INTRODUCTION

The main purpose of this monograph is to describe the nature and characteristics of the Finnish-speaking provincial folk high schools in Finland. Information concerning Swedish-speaking and nonprovincial types of folk high schools is included because these institutions are closely related and have been vital parts of the folk high school movement in Finland.

In this study, provincial folk high schools have been defined as those folk high schools proper[1] that (a) were founded for the people in a given province and by the people in the province; and (b) have not had educational goals that served special groups such as labor, church, or political groups.

Historically, the provincial folk high schools were the backbone of the early folk school movement in Finland from 1889 to 1917. Indeed, until Finnish independence was declared in 1917, about 95% of all Finnish folk high schools were of the provincial type; and as late as 1966, almost 40% of the total of 83 folk schools were provincial. The development of an adult education institution devoted to helping adults learn how to live responsibly is not in itself remarkable. Folk schools existed in Scandinavian countries more than forty years before their development in Finland. What is dramatic is the fact that in Finland so many folk schools developed so rapidly and uniformly among a people who lived in several geocultural regions and who were not politically free until 1917. Finland, covering an area only a little smaller than the combined areas of the states of Minnesota and Mississippi, is indeed one of the pioneering countries in the development of the folk school as an institutional form of adult education.

The main sections of this monograph which describe different aspects of the Finnish provincial folk high school are devoted to its purpose, teaching program, teachers and principals, students, and school-state relations. In each section an effort was made to characterize the changes that occurred during the three major periods of development: 1889-1916, 1917-1939, and 1946-1966.

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[1] The word "proper" is used to denote the traditional one-year folk high school program as distinct from other programs often associated with the folk high school as an institution, such as the folk academy.

Students of education and other interested readers might find it helpful to refer to the Glossary when they encounter unfamiliar descriptive terms. A map in the back of the booklet will be of assistance to those who wish to know the names of the Finnish provincial folk high schools and the location of these schools in relation to major population centers.

The selected bibliography lists and describes briefly the major written resources which serious students of Finnish folk high schools would find useful. For a more detailed treatment of the provincial folk high school in Finland, the reader can refer to a doctoral dissertation on this subject written at Indiana University by the author of this monograph.

H. L.
J. M.

I.

BACKGROUND AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE PROVINCIAL FOLK HIGH SCHOOL IN FINLAND

The cultural basis of folk high schools lies in the romanticism of the end of the 18th and the beginning of the 19th century.[1] Growing national sentiment as well as the social freedom which the people enjoyed created conditions for their growth.[2] General political and cultural ferment urged the broadening of knowledge, especially of farming people, and focused attention on their inner and outer needs. This was of particular consequence in Denmark in the mid-19th century, for the folk high school originated there. It was after Denmark was defeated in the war against Germany in 1864 that the folk high school movement began to flower, based to a large extent on the fact that its ideology was closely akin to that of the nationalistic movement which was in full progress in Europe at that time. The dramatic early growth of the folk school movement in Denmark was reflected in the number of students attending Danish folk high schools: in 1854-55, 267; in 1864-65, 326; and in 1874-75, 3,551 students.[3]

The Danish Background

N.F.S. Grundtvig (1783-1872) was the man who pooled together the desires of the Danish farmers to secure spiritual food and more share in deciding on the forces which concerned every citizen. He gave form to those forces in the folk high school idea. The main purpose of folk high schools, in his opinion, was to develop the use of the mother tongue and provide education which would

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[1] Wilska, Matti, Kansanopistoaatteen kehitys Suomessa, p. 1.

[2] Lönberg, K.G., Om fölkhogskolorna i Danmark, p. 3.

[3] Kojonen, Rope, Kansanopisto, p. 21.

benefit the whole nation. Into this category he included the knowledge of how a good community works; a life devoted to king and fatherland; the ability to express oneself in a clear, understandable way in his own language; and knowledge of the nation's strengths and weaknesses.

Grundtvig's slogan, "first human and then Christian," means that he wanted education in the folk high school to aim at disseminating national and Christian culture. Through folk high school education, he hoped to bring the educated world and others closer to each other in order to further a healthy development of the nation; he also hoped to create a special northern civilization by devoting the main attention to the northern European peoples' history and intellectual achievements in national language.

The early Danish programs of instruction consisted of only those subjects considered necessary to all. Two-thirds of the classes were generally devoted to history and mother tongue, which also included literature of fatherland and its social and economic life and nature.[4] Gymnastics was also taught every day. Later on, subjects such as geography, arithmetic, physics, and other national sciences became teaching subjects.[5]

The program of a folk high school was intended to meet the real needs of life, the demands of the present, and the prevailing conditions. In Grundtvig's opinion,[6] the technical sides of different industries should not be dealt with theoretically; inspiring and directing words should be enough.

Grundtvig believed that the teaching of religion belonged to the church and home; thus, it was not included in the program of early Danish folk high schools.

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[4] Voipio, Grundtvigin nuorisonkasvatusaatteesta, pp. 105-106.

[5] Päivärinta, J., Kansanopistosta ja sen perustamisesta Suomeen, p. 38.

[6] Hollmann, Tanskalainen kansanopisto, p. 50f.

He wanted the teaching in the folk high school to be impartial, with the students selecting facts instead of being indoctrinated. With this experience, he reasoned, they would be better equipped to resist agitators in the future. He also rejected the teaching of religion in the folk high school because he felt it to be a matter of belief (i.e., impossible to teach). On the other hand, he wanted Christianity to be an inspiring power in the folk high school, because Christian faith, in his opinion, helped every individual and even a nation to fulfill its special characteristics.

Because Grundtvig thought that the spoken word was the most effective way to inspire people, and no written examinations were held, lectures and free talk among students and teachers were the basic methods through which folk school students were introduced to the great educational task of human life. This spoken, living word meant to Grundtvig a personal word, behind which the whole person stands with all his deepest life experiences. Kristen Kold,[7] the first man to put into effect, on a practical level, the folk high school concept in Denmark, expressed the same concept earlier: A teacher has to address his students, not talk to them; in other words, he has to create a bridge between the speaker and the listener. Although teaching was oral, it did not negate books. One purpose was to awaken the students' intellectual life and interest to study independently afterwards.

With an all-male enrollment averaging forty students a semester, the Danish folk high schools usually were in session from the first of November to the end of April. Eight hours were devoted to teaching each day. Women were invited to attend for the first time in the summer of 1860. It was Kold who started these programs, for he believed that women, at the heart of the home, lay the foundation for later growth and personal development. The folk high school courses for women differed from those for men in some aspects, and all teaching took into account what was termed women's "special disposition."

During the first twenty years, 11 Danish folk high schools were founded; but between 1865 and 1875, 54 folk high schools were founded, mostly through the people's own initiative and through their pecuniary contributions.

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[7] Schröder, Ludvig, N.F.S. Grundtvig, p. 114.

Gradually more subjects were included in their programs other than the original, purely humanistic ones.[8] Thus, for example, the folk high school at Hindholm aimed at: awakening love for fatherland; leading students to industriousness, order, and decent manners; and educating in everything that belongs to farming and a person as a Danish citizen, a member of a community and a family member. That is why subjects taught were as varied as the following: mother tongue, Danish history and geography, arithmetic, natural sciences applied to farming, singing, gymnastics, English, church and world history, and political science.

The Beginnings in Finland

The decades preceding the first newspaper article in Finland (1868) on folk high schools witnessed vivid interest in the cause of popular education. This interest helped prepare the way for folk high schools in Finland. Among the forerunners were the so-called Ahlman and Bell-Lancasterian schools founded by the initiative of private persons at the beginning of the 19th century to replace existing ambulatory schools. The main subjects taught were arithmetic, reading, and religion. According to Wilska,[9] they were not successful for the following reasons: (1) the clergy was antagonistic and thought that general education would estrange common people from the religion of their fathers; (2) the people feared their taxes would be raised; and (3) the government resisted them as nests for liberal ideas.

Effected mainly by the birth of a genuine Finnish literature, the national enthusiasm in Finland in the 1860's helped prepare for the coming of folk high schools. National feeling coupled with a love of books prepared people to enjoy and understand teaching in folk high schools in a patriotic spirit.[10] The many writings whose purpose was to make elementary schools accepted by the

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[8] Leinberg, op. cit., p. 7f.

[9] Wilska, op. cit., p. 31f.

[10] Ibid., p. 35.

people during this period also prepared the ground for folk high schools by stressing the importance of general knowledge without preparing for special jobs.[11]

During the 1870's and 1880's writings appeared periodically in Finnish newspapers and periodicals which dealt with how to found folk high schools in Finland and reported on folk high schools in Scandinavian countries, notably in Denmark. These writings kept the idea alive, but action was not taken until 1889.

Several factors accounted for the slow development of the folk high school idea in Finland:

1. The elementary school situation was still crucial in the 1870's and 1880's. The workers in the field of popular education had neither money nor time for folk high schools because they were having a difficult time getting people to accept elementary schools, whose purpose was not undisputed among leading citizens.

2. Finnish-speaking educated citizens were too concerned about founding Finnish high schools to be eager to pay attention to other new cultural forms.

3. People's cultural interests, especially in the countryside, were minimal.

4. Such things as agricultural methods, forestry, and railroads had to be improved to make the country wealthy enough to be able to support folk high schools. This did not happen before the end of the 19th century.

5. The political situation during these twenty years was relaxed. Russia showed scarcely any inclination to suppress national and political independence in Finland.

6. The antagonism of many religious ministers toward popular education slowed down the development of folk high schools.[12]

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[11] Ibid., p. 35.

[12] Wilska, op. cit., pp. 146-155, and Inkilä, Arvo, Kansanvalistusseura, p. 189.

Special forces furthered the founding of the early Finnish folk high schools in the 1890's, among which were the following:[13]

1. The youth organizations in the provinces were active in collecting money for folk high schools.

2. In founding the Pohjois-Pohjanmaa Folk High School in Liminka, a big donation given by an unknown person was a valuable contribution to the cause.

3. Especially in the case of the Lansi-Suomi Folk High School in Huittinen, the Finnish association of the Lansi-Suomalainen student nation as well as the people of various communities worked to help establish the folk high school.

4. The Keski-Savo Folk High School in Joroinen was helped economically by (a) students and citizens collecting fees from an association of supporters, (b) festivals in the countryside, and (c) a successful lottery.

In Finland it took more than twenty years to get a folk high school after the first public discussion of them in 1868. Although the first Finnish folk school was founded in 1889, it can be said that not until 1892 did the folk high school movement get on firm ground; by this time eight provincial schools existed in Finland.

The significance of the first folk high schools in Finland is reflected in certain basic differences from the Danish models: (1) coeducation, (2) the teaching of both religion and practical subjects, and (3) the proprietary relationship. Emphasis on these typical Finnish characteristics dates back to the earliest folk high schools in Finland.

During the first two decades of independent Finland (1918-1939), the provincial folk high schools began to lose their prominent role in the nation-wide folk high school development. Of the 19 new schools founded during this period, only one was provincial; 16 of the other 18 were Christian folk high schools. Major factors in the diminishing influence of the provincial folk

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[13] Wilska, op. cit., pp. 135, 136, 138, 140, and 142-144.

high school after World War I were compulsory military service, the development of agricultural and other vocational schools which attracted many students, and decreasing financial support by the people of the provinces.

From the beginning, the official names of the provincial folk high schools indicated that they served the people of the province in which they were located; but after 1925, at the suggestion of the Central Board of Schools, they began to change their names to make them reflect the specific locality in which they were situated. Another sign that division into districts was out of date was the fact that specialized folk high schools began to develop in the 1920's which received students from specific population groups, not from a geographical area such as a province.

In 1966, of the total of 83 folk high schools in Finland, 33 were provincial; 23 Finnish-speaking, and 10 Swedish-speaking. Thus the provincial folk high school as an institutional form is still a potent force in the folk high school movement, since almost 40% of all folk high schools in Finland are of this type.

II.

THE PURPOSE OF THE PROVINCIAL FOLK HIGH SCHOOL

In this brief section the purposes of the provincial folk high schools in Finland are described in historical perspective. Although some of the original basic purposes have not changed significantly, they have been stated in various ways by folk high school leaders during the almost seventy-five years of folk school development. Some changes in emphasis and in the task of the folk high schools are also reflected in the purposes as expressed by these leaders.

At the end of the 19th century, when Finnish folk high schools were in their infancy, Eva Hallstrom, editor of the folk high school magazine, Kansanopisto, enumerated the major purposes of the early Finnish folk high schools as she interpreted them.[1] She wrote that the folk high schools try to help their students become free, work-loving, truth-loving, inquisitive human beings, and citizens who pursue goodness. Folk high school education, she said, was intended to make students tolerant and able to see their own and other people's value in generosity of the heart, not in the outward behavior or in fine dress. The folk high schools, in her opinion, also aimed at making the students willing to accept any honorable work and show understanding toward the suffering.

Each of the three most prominent pioneers of the folk high schools in Finland (principals Knaapinen, Liakka, and Mikander) saw the main purposes of the folk high schools during the period 1892-1917 in a slightly different way.[2] Their purposes were followed to a large extent by the folk

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[1] Hällstrom, "Synnyttävätkö kansanopistot herrastelua?" in Kansanopisto 1897, No. 6, p. 84f.

[2] Principal Mikander's speech in the Häme Folk High School in 1914, Kansanopisto 1935, No. 9, p. 155; Länsiluoto, "Puolivuosisataa kansanopistotyötä Suomessa," in Kansanopisto 1939, No. 1-2, p. 4; Principal Knaapinen's speech in the Länsi-Suomi Folk High School in 1900, Kansanopisto 1940, No. 1-2, p. 15.

high schools; however, some schools placed more emphasis on a few of the purposes than did the others. It was Knaapinen's opinion that the folk high school education should aim at distributing culture which develops nobleness of soul and purity of character in Christian spirit--not knowledge of pure economic value.

Liakka wanted the folk high schools to help the homes educate young people to become good human beings and responsible citizens, and to work for home, society, and state. He believed that it was for the folk high school education to help them find their own view of life and their place in society.

Mikander saw the purpose of folk high school education to be that of inspiring strong patriotic-national and religious feelings as well as developing in the students sensitivity to everything that is poetic, beautiful, right, good, and true.

In 1927, school counselor Lansiluoto,[3] a nationally known folk high school figure, subscribed to the following purposes of the folk high schools proper: (1) to further, support, and direct the intellectual development and cultural pursuits of the country youth; (2) to spread Christian and patriotic sentiment; (3) to further the theoretical and ethical development of the students; and (4) to arouse interest in social betterment.

In the 1920's many people began to think that the folk high schools were no longer necessary, because Finland had already gained its independence. By 1930 the folk high schools proper were being attacked on the grounds that they did not answer the cultural needs of the time. The critics complained that they did not teach enough social-economic subjects or such natural science subjects as were necessary for studies of practical subjects. They were accused of having programs which were lacking in concentration and not meeting the needs of practical life.

Despite all these obstacles and difficulties, the folk high schools, in general, experienced a strong outward development in the 1930's: the economic basis became stable and the forms of work more established. The folk high schools proper were more successful in fulfilling their purposes during this time than in the previous decade, for they had begun to understand their new

[3] Länsiluoto, "Ohjelmamme" in Kansanopisto 1927, Sample copy, p. 1.

tasks in independent Finland. Nevertheless, one can still say that they were "peasant high schools," for organized labor did not yet accept folk high schools proper as their own institutes (perhaps because social questions did not get the attention which labor felt was needed, and those questions were perhaps dealt with in the folk schools in a way which aroused distrust among young workers).

In 1929 folk high school principal Paavolainen disclosed many then-current goals of the folk high school proper during a speech about its significance in meeting the practical needs of citizens.[4] He told the participants at the meeting that the folk high schools proper try to impart knowledge and skills which benefit students in their lives and educate their character. They tried to make students more diligent farmers who enjoy their work and see it as an important part in nation building. The students were to be inspired to seek more knowledge in every subject field after their folk high school education was completed. In their purpose to educate for the home, the folk high schools proper, despite a large variety of subjects, aimed at wholeness by creating the foundation for happy homes in which students were able to use everything they had learned. They could use the acquired moral view of life as a daily motive power; knowledge of theoretical subjects could refresh them in daily routine and during breaks; and manual training was to make them skillful as well as at home in the field. When depressed they could sing songs they had learned and get courage to overcome their temporary sentiment.

In an advisory committee meeting of the Finnish folk high school personnel in 1933, the following eight goals were seen as the most important for the folk high schools proper to pursue:[5]

1. To educate for independent thinking

2. To revive the knowledge acquired in childhood and teach for life

3. To distribute necessary economic information to help students overcome economic difficulties

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[4] Paavolainen, "Kansanopiston merkitys silmälläpitäen kansalaisen käytännöllisiä tarpeita" in Kansanopisto 1929, No. 6, pp. 3-7.

[5] Lampinen, "Kansanopistojen tarpeellisuus nykyaikana" and "neuvottelukokouksen pöytäkirja," in Kansanopisto 1933, No. 8-9, pp. 115 and 123.

4. To further patriotism and social preparedness

5. To lead students to know themselves and find their place in life

6. To arouse interest in continuous self-improvement

7. To develop students vocationally

8. To make students responsible citizens

By this time we see vocational development included as a stated goal of the folk high school proper.

During the war years (1939-1946) and those immediately following, the purposes of the folk high schools proper remained much as they were before. In other words, the folk high schools' most important tasks lay in economic, social, and national-patriotic fields. However, some aspects of folk high school education now became more important than before.

The report of the 1937 Folk High School Committee, published in 1945, gave the guidelines for folk high school education policies after World War II. The committee saw intensified civic education as a very important task, although it was a task not unfamiliar to the folk high schools. The purpose of this renewed emphasis was to make students familiar with the political and social institutions of Finland, and with the economic life and society in general. This civic education was also thought to be able to develop a student's personality toward honesty and responsibility for other people and the state. It aimed at educating citizens in a democracy.

The committee also wanted the folk high schools proper to develop in the students intelligence and independent ways of thinking, as well as moral characteristics and a better understanding of life. Knowing and appreciating the national culture was reaffirmed as a worthy purpose of the folk high school education. These purposes were basically the same as the earlier purposes which the folk high schools proper had followed in their educational work. The current purposes and tasks, outlined by the 1958 Folk High School Committee, include the same core of purposes which have led the folk high schools proper throughout their existence of over seventy-five years.

What new purposes should the folk high schools of the future pursue? The growing importance of the folk academies, which have concentrated on teaching theoretical subjects, is evident. The folk high schools proper, unlike the communal schools, cannot afford to provide the equipment which modern manual training and home economics demand. Nevertheless, the folk high schools proper will certainly teach manual training in the future, for the growing amount of free time of people will make it necessary. People want to have some hobbies during their leisure; in this pursuit, the folk high schools proper can help by providing manual training.

In principal Kallio's and school counselor Virtanen's opinion, there are some partly new tasks which will become more and more important to folk high schools as they take new roles in the years ahead.[6] They are as follows:

1. To educate toward independence and idealism

2. To pay special attention to growing numbers of students who are socially or emotionally disturbed

3. To help readapt into Finnish society the workers returning from Sweden

4. To train students for new jobs and give supplementary education

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[6] Korosuo, "Kansanopiston undet tehtävät ja mahdollisuudet" in Kansanopisto 1967, No. 1, p. 7.

III.

THE TEACHING PROGRAM OF PROVINCIAL FOLK HIGH SCHOOLS

All the early folk high schools took a positive stand toward Christianity and accepted religion in the program of instruction. This was a realistic step, for the clergy at the end of the 19th century still had great influence. Another factor, the religious conviction of the founders of the folk high schools, caused them to follow a familiar idea: religion is a part of a school. Nevertheless, they saw the main purpose of folk high schools to be national and social awakening; therefore, the relationship with a congregation was almost nonexistent.

The programs of instruction of the early folk high schools resembled each other and generally contained the following subjects:[1] arithmetic, bookkeeping, composition, drawing, geography, gymnastics, health education, general and Finnish history, manual training, mother tongue and its literature, municipal knowledge, natural science, religion and church history, singing, and surveying. There were few of what might be called "vocational subjects"; and these, home economics and agriculture, were not taught for the purpose of helping students obtain a job. Vocational subjects were to become more prominent in the early decades of the 20th century.

At the beginning there were no fixed programs of instruction; some of the above-mentioned subjects were taught after the teachers, at the beginning of the school season, had decided what to do. This decision was based on consideration of the types of students they had, their needs, and what it was

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[1]Saikku, "Suomalainen kansanopisto nuorison kasvattajana työhön" in Kansanopisto 1928, No. 11, p. 9.

predicted they were able to assimilate.[2] So, for instance, the Lansi-Suomi Folk High School did not teach bookkeeping, but had courses on church administration, dairy and cattle breeding, the main characteristics of the national economy, and, until 1893, Finnish social order and constitution.

Many factors made the folk high school in Finland coeducational.[3] Although the Education Act of 1866 had stated that there should be separate education for girls and boys, coeducational elementary schools had become common little by little in the countryside. They had been so promising that high schools followed their example in the 1880's. The development of women's rights at the end of the 19th century also prepared the ground for coeducation. The poverty of Finland and its sparse population prevented the early founding of separate folk high schools for men and women and the arranging of folk high school courses for different sexes at different times, for women were needed on the farm in the summer. Coeducation in the folk high schools was very beneficial for girls, for in the 1890's they were still, for the most part, without social and political rights. In offering them opportunities for general development and for acceptance as men's equals, the folk high schools thus furthered the growth of democracy.

During the first years of the so-called "Russian oppression," 1898-1905, only two new folk high schools were able to open their doors. After this period of oppression, 18 new folk high schools were able to begin activities in the period 1905-1909.

In this period the programs of many folk high schools were still general, without any special interest area. Some folk high schools wanted to concentrate on civic education; others saw the teaching of practical subjects as more important. The program of instruction consisted mainly of agricultural subjects, home economics, manual training, and humanistic, social-economic, and natural science subjects. The courses of instruction varied slightly from one folk high school to another and were based on the needs, hopes, and developmental level of the students. In addition, necessity of getting economic support, as

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[2] Länsiluoto, "Eräitä kansanopistojen opetussuunnitelmissa varteenotettavia seikkoja" in Kansanopisto 1936, No. 10, p. 267.

[3] Wilska, op. cit., pp. 164-166 and 172.

well as the changes brought by time, shaped the programs of instruction. The principal, the teachers, and the trustees of a folk high school planned the program of instruction.

During the period 1900-1917, before Finland's independence, the teaching in Finnish-speaking folk high schools was concentrated on seventeen different subjects or subject areas as shown in Table 1 on the next page.

TABLE 1. THE SUBJECTS TAUGHT EACH WEEK AND THE AVERAGE HOURS OF TEACHING PER WEEK IN FINNISH-SPEAKING FOLK HIGH SCHOOLS IN 1910-11.[4]

Subjects	Range of teaching hours per week	Average teaching hours per week
Agriculture	2-12.0	5.1
Arithmetic	3-4.0	3.4
Bookkeeping	0-3.0	1.1
Geography	1-3.0	2.0
Geometry	0-4.0	2.0
Gymnastics	1-6.0	2.4
Health Education	1-2.0	1.1
History	3-6.0	4.5
Literature	1-4.0	2.6
Mother tongue	1-7.5	3.6
Natural science	1-4.0	2.2
Religion and Ethics	1-5.0	1.4
Singing	1-8.5	4.1
Soc. sc. and pol. econ.	1-3.0	1.8
Discussion and other exercises	2-10.0	4.2
Manual training and drawing		
boys	10-26.0	14.6
girls	10-26.0	15.5
Cooking theory	1-3.0	1.3
Other subjects	0-5.0	1.2

[4] Kojonen, Rope, Kansanopisto, p. 73.

There was much training in farming, because farmers needed it. Manual training was considered as a link between a student's earlier hard work and the ample theoretical teaching of folk high schools. Home economics was included in the program in order to improve upon the simple and monotonous food of peasants. The place of the vocationally-oriented subjects in the program of instruction was defended by saying that they were used only as a means of real intellectual education and that all the education in folk high schools aimed at putting the knowledge into practice.

In terms of achievement, from the educational point of view, major gains were hoped for through history, mother tongue, and singing; thus, each of these subjects were given about twice as much time as any other single subject except arithmetic. It was thought to be the responsibility of every Finn to know how his forefathers had sustained all kinds of hardships without losing their hope. As a result of this knowledge, it was thought that students would be more willing and pleased to work for Finland. The study of general history, it was felt, would show that human development is slow and demands much work and sacrifice. To know how to use the native tongue in a clear and correct way was thought to be the best educational achievement through studies in mother tongue. Singing was considered valuable in giving lofty ideals and in unifying students.

From the beginning, social life in the folk high schools has been considered educationally important. Teachers and students lived closely together and thus the folk high schools became homes with common joys and sorrows. This living together was thought to refine manners and develop the students' ability to live in a community of various people.

In pre-World War I times, civic education did not play an important role. In it many folk high schools included mainly the basic information on social, political, municipal, and economic activities and stressed social-ethical principles of a general nature. Oittinen[5] saw the purpose of civic education in

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[5] Oittinen, "Kansanopisto ja kansalaiskasvatus" in Maamme kansanopisto 75-vuotias, p. 12.

this early stage of folk high schools as that of preparing a man who was well-informed, who worked for the common good, who was skillful at work, and who followed the demands of Christian ethics in his personal life.

The teaching of bookkeeping was designed to show how to keep income and expenses balanced. Geometry was taught because it was needed by farmers in arranging their fields. Drawing was taught mostly to help in planning various tools. The purpose of gymnastics teaching was to cheer up, to give bodily and spiritual force, and to help keep people sober, chaste, and healthy. Teaching religion was, among other things, to lead students to study the Bible independently, as well as to arouse sentiment. Great reliance was placed on lectures, or the living word, as in Danish folk high schools.

In 1913 principal Mikander defined the living word in folk high school education.[6] In his opinion the word is living when it produces response among listeners and is not too intellectual for them to understand. The living word should not, he warned, be so perfect, so carefully thought out, that students do not need to bother themselves to think or to make conclusions of their own.

In the period 1920-1940, changes began to take place. Some of the leading figures of the folk high school movement were of the opinion that only those subjects should be taught for which excellent teachers were available, because the emphasis of folk high school teaching was on how to teach rather than subject matter. They considered important the teacher's ability as a public performer. Every teacher was to lead a study circle to study those areas in which the students and the teacher were interested. Many teachers advised students to join in study circles after their folk high school studies to keep up their intellectual interests. Teachers were also to lead in the editing of the students' magazine and in drama productions. In this era the importance of audio-visual aids became recognized and the concentration by students on some subject area, an inroad of the idea of specialization, began to gain currency.

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[6] Mikander, "Kansanopisto-opetus ja elävä sana" in Suomalainen kansanopisto 1914, pp. 24-28.

After fulfilling the basic regulations of the folk high school law and statute, every folk high school had the right, as in the past, to arrange its teaching according to the guidelines which the staff thought would be the most important educational task in their own, their students', and their supporters' opinion. Nevertheless, during this period, 1920-1940, the program of instruction did not vary much from one folk high school proper to another and was about the same as during the earlier period. The folk high schools proper tried to give increased emphasis to those subjects which gave insight into national culture and trained students for civic life. The latter subject area began to get more attention than before because such an education was the main justification for obtaining state aid. Furthermore, because democracy had begun to become effective in political and social functions of Finland, the folk high schools proper added a new feature in their civic education: systematic teaching of social science. In all folk high schools proper religion was yet considered a very important subject and Christian ideas were to be felt everywhere.

According to the 1925 folk high school law, subjects in the humanistic (history, literature, mother tongue, religion), social-economic, and natural science areas could give the folk high school proper its special spirit.[7] When a folk high school proper selected one area, it usually became evident in the program of instruction. But the number of teaching hours alone was not signigicant in this respect, for manual training and home economices had the largest number of teaching hours.

Most important was that the dominant subject area beginning to be emphasized by some schools in this period gave the spirit for the work and also affected the students in this spirit. In some folk high schools proper there was also by this time purely vocational teaching such as typing and acting. These subjects ran counter to the bylaws because they prepared students for specific jobs.

According to a 1939 study of folk high school students, boys and girls in Finnish-speaking folk high schools proper reacted differently toward

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[7] Suomen asetuskokoelma, 1925, No. 233, Laki kansanopistojen valtioavusta, par. 4, 5.

various teaching subjects.[8] The girls considered home economics and handiwork the most important; the boys, agricultural subjects and manual training. Both sexes regarded religion important, but history and mother tongue were seldom mentioned among important subjects. It is to be noted that only 4% of the students in the provincial folk high schools, compared to about 30% in the Christian ones, thought religion to be the most important subject.

In the 1920's and 1930's, the length of the working day varied slightly. In some folk high schools work began at 7 a. m. and ended at 5 p. m.; in others it began at 9-10 a. m. and ended at 8-9 p. m. Opinions about the ideal amount of work per day differed. A full day idea was favored because it was based on the home-like concept of folk high schools. It was successfully defended by statements that too much free time creates disorder in co-educational schools; that in schools of the living word most learning occurs in the classes; and that a diversified daily program is not tiresome.

In the modern period the program of the folk high schools proper is based on the amount of study given in civic schools. This instruction varies, however, among the civic schools to such extent as to make it difficult for the folk high schools to plan their programs to meet the real educational needs of the student body. The program of instruction, after being approved by the trustees of a folk high school, must be sent for ratification to the Central Board of Schools. This office does not normally make any changes if the programs correspond to the spirit of the law, are purposeful, and if there are at least forty teaching and practice hours a week in the program. This regulation of the statute does not make any difficulty for the program planners; due to the nature of folk high school education, many folk high schools proper offer fifty to sixty hours a week.

This freedom has enabled the folk high schools to adjust their programs according to the needs of students and society to a great extent. Despite this general freedom the folk high school legislation dictates, without saying it directly, the prominent role of social science and history in the programs of

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[8] Harva, "Kansanopisto nuorison harrastusten kehittäjänä," in Kansanopisto 1942, No. 8-9, pp. 199-201.

folk high schools. Because everybody needs a good written and oral command of his native language, mother tongue is still considered a very important subject. Traditionally, singing still gets much attention. Literature and education are included in most programs of instruction as before, but agricultural subjects have lost their appeal with the decreasing number of students from the agrarian population, and because some schools now give specialized education in agriculture. In some folk high schools proper agriculture is a voluntary or an elective subject and often it is taught from the viewpoint of agricultural politics. The teaching of geography also has in part changed its nature, for nowadays social and economic aspects are emphasized.

Manual training and home economics still play an important role, for about one-third of the weekly hours are devoted to them in many provincial folk high schools. Traditionally, woodwork for the boys and sewing and weaving for the girls are important subjects of manual training in folk high schools proper. Because certain educational institutes and vocational schools can offer better instruction in manual training, the folk high schools proper have been forced to diversify the content of their manual training instruction. For example, many boys obtain training in metal work and both sexes in hobbying.

An increasing number of students want to continue their studies after being in a folk high school proper. For example, from the students in the 1954-55 year's course,[9] 55% continued studying in folk academies. Many also entered a home economics, agricultural, or technical school, or a school which trains for service in hospitals. This need of students to continue their education is perhaps the main reason why the folk high schools proper gradually have accepted the division of their program of instruction into "lines." The most common lines are the "general" and the "study" lines, of which the former moreorless represents the traditional pattern in the program of instruction. The study line is concentrated, for the most part, on theoretical subjects. Some folk high schools proper also have other lines such as language and music lines. Despite this division into lines, which was at first accepted by the Swedish-speaking folk high schools proper and which became common in Finnish-speaking ones in the latter part of the 1950's, the folk high schools proper have tried to keep in their programs a core of subjects on the view of life.

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[9] Vuoden 1958 Kansanopistokomitean Mietintö, p. 78.

The programs, in general, have become more demanding than in earlier times because the requirements on which their programs are based, to a great extent, have also become more demanding. The programs tend to be more varied than before in order to meet the needs of the constantly evolving society and those of the students from various social classes. In the study line, especially, mother tongue and arithmetic are given more hours because they are seen as being important for further studies.

In general, the most essential teaching subjects are the same in all folk high schools proper, although there is no rigidly enforced regulation pertaining to them in the law. These basic educational subjects (history, literature, mother tongue, and social and political science) should be given, in the opinion of the official committee,[10] ten to twenty hours a week and be compulsory for all students.

The general folk high school subjects include[11] arithmetic, education, ethics, health and family education, foreign languages, natural science subjects, psychology, religion; practical subjects include agriculture, hobbying, home economics, manual training, and economics.

As in the past decades, the folk high school education is not restricted to the classroom; it takes place during free hours through sport events, self-government, and the maintenance of neatness and order in the folk high schools proper. Lectures and practice in art and physical education, organization work, singing, and the art of presentation also belong to modern as well as traditional folk high school education.

The modern period is characterized by the growth of pupil-centered teaching. Thus, teachers now use various teaching methods in addition to the earlier dominant living word. Textbooks are now common. Audio-visual aids find more acceptance than before, and they are acquired as long as there is money available for that purpose. By being active in various student organizations, the

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[10] Ibid., p. 89.

[11] Ibid., p. 91f.

students get training for organizational life. Through planning and organizing different activities during their stay in a folk high school proper, students learn to carry on programs and to lead them. Student government is now a reality in many folk high schools proper and is thus a means of educating them for responsible citizenship.

The traditional courses in home economics offered in the summer by various types of folk high schools are being replaced in many cases by shorter courses in various fields such as music, languages, literature, and the arts. Nevertheless, there were traditional home economics courses (normally of five months' duration) in fourteen folk high schools in the summer of 1966. They were attended by 533 female participants. The varied shorter courses requiring four to ten weeks were attended by 100 male and 484 female students during the same summer.[12] Some folk high schools even accept paying summer guests or rent their accommodations to different organizations for various uses in the summer time.

[12] Kansanopisto 1966, op. cit., p. 229.

IV.

THE STUDENTS IN THE PROVINCIAL FOLK HIGH SCHOOL

During the first twenty-five years (beginning in 1892 and thus disregarding the original Kangasala Folk High School), there were altogether 21,779 Finnish-speaking folk high school students, of which 41.2% were men and 58.8% were women. The highest number of students in one school during one school season had been 144; the smallest number had been eight. Both happened to be in 1916-17. The average number of Finnish students per school in 1892-93 was 40.6; in 1900-01, 43.8; in 1910-11, 49.7; and in 1915-16, 52.5 students. During this beginning stage the majority of students were over eighteen years old.

By 1910, all folk high schools which had begun their activities before the independence in 1917, except for one, had been founded. Therefore, the information about the students in the school season 1910-11 in Table 2 on the following page provides a rather representative picture.

TABLE 2. THE NUMBER, SEX, AND AGE OF THE STUDENTS IN 26 FINNISH-SPEAKING PROVINCIAL FOLK HIGH SCHOOLS IN THE SCHOOL SEASON 1910-11.[1]

Name of the folk high school	Year of Founding	Total Students	Men	Women	Average Age	Oldest Student	Youngest Student	Number of Students	
								1911	
								Annual Average	Total
Lansi-Suomi	1892	44	18	26	18.9	26	16	47	890
Keski-Savo	1892	76	32	44	20.6	28	16	59	1123
Etela-Pohjanmaa	1892	56	23	33	----	31	17	50	944
Pohjois-Pohjanmaa	1892	55	24	31	20.1	28	16	38	721
Lahti	1893	117	39	78	20.6	33	16	67	1209
Hame	1894	64	25	39	20.0	27	17	51	874
Uusikirkko	1894	66	12	54	19.5	33	15	54	925
Keski-Suomi	1894	32	16	16	20.7	27	15	42	724
Pohjois-Savo	1895	101	50	51	20.8	35	16	60	965
Pohjois-Karjala	1895	44	16	28	20.5	27	16	44	702
Lounais-Karjala	1895	27	11	16	19.0	25	17	40	648
Keski-Pohjanmaa	1896	33	12	21	19.5	24	16	30	481
Kymenlaakso	1896	54	29	25	19.5	27	15	48	721
Lansi-Uusimaa	1897	29	8	21	19.3	28	16	34	480
Varsinais-Suomi	1899	67	37	30	19.9	27	17	48	575
Perapohjola	1901	37	23	14	20.2	26	17	35	350
Ita-Karjala	1906	53	17	36	19.4	28	14	53	265
Tuusula	1907	69	37	32	----	29	16	68	273
Puhos	1907	20	8	12	17.0	30	16	24	97
Pohjois-Satakunta	1907	63	32	31	22.6	35	17	64	129
Raisala	1908	46	19	27	20.0	27	17	49	147
Ita-Hame	1908	24	10	14	21.7	29	15	32	127
Keski-Hame	1909	50	19	31	20.2	39	16	42	85
Jamsa	1909	25	9	16	20.2	27	17	28	57
Kainuu	1909	26	11	15	20.6	31	15	26	52
Ita-Pohjanmaa	1909	30	13	17	17.0	24	14	34	68
Total		1308	550	758					13,632

[1] Suomalainen Kansanopisto, 1912, p. 140

In the school season 1910-11, the educational background of Finnish-speaking folk high school students was as follows: folk high school, 2.1%; some years of high school, 2.9%; elementary school, 65.1%; some years of elementary school, 10.7%; no elementary school education, 19.2%. Only very few students were from towns. For example, in 1916-17 farm owners' sons and daughters comprised 82.9%; those of the landless population, 11.9%; and others comprised only 5.2% of the whole Finnish student body.

In the school season 1910-11, about 50% of the students lived in the buildings of the folk high schools compared to 65% just before independence in 1917. In 1900 the Pohjois-Savo Folk High School had become the first to be able to accommodate all its students and teachers in its own buildings.

As early as this beginning stage, the old students of different folk high schools had founded fellowship leagues as a link between the teachers and students, and among old and new students to try to help their own folk high schools financially, especially their poor students. They had their own by-laws, and on the anniversary of their folk high schools the members usually assembled in their old folk high schools. Some had a membership badge; others collected a small membership fee. Honor members were appointed and a few even published albums with facts about students and the folk high school work.

Folk high school attendance showed a steady increase during the period 1910-1940. The percentage of nineteen-year old persons in the rural countryside who attended a folk high school for any length of time was 4.3% at the end of 1920, or 0.9% larger than ten years earlier. In 1930 they represented 5%, and at the end of 1940, 7.1%. The increase was due mostly to the growing number of girls who found attending the folk high school a worthwhile experience.

Some schools accepted girls of sixteen and boys of seventeen years of age, regardless of their maturity, because the statute permitted it. In the academic years 1936-39, 35.7% of the students were either sixteen or seventeen years old.[2]

[2] Kuusamo, "Arkistosta pengottua II" in Kansanopisto 1949, No. 1-2, pp. 12-14.

Before 1925, about 60% of the students were 18 to 20 years old; those younger than 18 years old comprised, in general, less than 20%, and those 21 years old or older about 20%. Although the average age remained about the same, the age dispersion gradually became a little larger.

In 1938-39,[3] there were 2,989 Finnish and 583 Swedish-speaking students in the folk high schools. Of the 2,989 Finnish students, 1,668, or about 56%, were in provincial folk high schools.

The folk high school students' upward social mobility was slow at the end of the 1930's. In the years 1937 and 1939,[4] over 80% of the students from agricultural homes wanted to follow in their fathers' footsteps as farmers, and about 74% of the students were from the agrarian population.[5] However, students in folk academies were more apt to change their social status than those in the folk high school proper.

Although the women have generally held a large majority, the number of men students in the folk high schools has shown an almost steady growth during the last twenty years, as indicated in Table 3 on the following page.

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[3] Kansanopisto 1938, No. 10, p. 289.

[4] Huuhka, op. cit., pp. 170-72.

[5] Ibid., p. 157.

TABLE 3. THE NUMBER AND PERCENTAGE OF FINNISH- AND SWEDISH-SPEAKING STUDENTS IN FOLK HIGH SCHOOLS BY SEX IN THE YEARS 1946-1967.[6]

Academic Years	Finnish-speaking				Swedish-speaking				
	Men		Women		Men		Women		
	Total	%	Total	%	Total	%	Total	%	Total
1946-47	718	20.1	2844	79.9	221	27.7	576	72.3	4359
1947-48	747	21.7	2690	78.3	219	27.8	568	72.2	4224
1948-49	745	22.6	2551	77.4	207	28.4	522	21.6	4025
1949-50	873	26.7	2399	73.3	203	30.7	459	69.3	3934
1950-51	979	27.0	2618	73.0	203	30.2	470	69.8	4270
1951-52	1013	25.3	2979	74.7	184	25.4	539	74.6	4715
1952-53	1102	28.0	2828	72.0	211	27.3	563	72.7	4704
1953-54	1168	27.5	3081	72.5	203	26.7	557	73.3	5009
1954-55	1121	25.7	3234	74.3	187	26.3	524	73.7	5066
1955-56	1142	25.8	3258	74.2	181	25.9	545	74.1	5136
1956-57	1315	29.1	3204	70.9	219	30.4	500	69.6	5238
1957-58	1314	28.8	3252	71.2	205	28.5	519	70.6	5290
1958-59	1382	29.3	3329	70.7	215	27.6	563	72.4	5488
1959-60	1315	28.2	3263	71.8	215	29.6	508	70.4	5301
1960-61	1187	25.8	3402	74.2	188	26.9	510	73.1	5287
1961-62	1198	25.8	3450	74.2	206	28.8	509	71.2	5363
1962-63	1179	24.8	3581	75.2	203	25.8	584	74.2	5547
1963-64	1326	26.2	3750	73.8	222	27.0	600	73.0	5898
1964-65	1271	24.5	3918	75.5	205	24.2	642	75.8	6036
1965-66	1312	25.1	3900	74.6	190	23.4	613	76.6	6053
1966-67	1340	25.0	3980	75.0	160	22.4	553	77.6	6033

[6] Maamme kansanopisto 75-vuotias, p. 36 and kansanopisto 1964-1966, No. 9-10.

The yearly fluctuations in the number of students reflect, to some extent, the development of increased employment and good and bad crops of farmers. The general increase in the number of students during the last ten years is probably due in part to the change of the law in 1950, which approved percentile state aid for economically poor students. Furthermore, the additional space which the folk high schools were beginning to obtain helped contribute to the increase in the number of students. The increased birth rate during 1945-1950 is reflected in the increased number of students in 1961-1966. In post-war Finnish society there has been a general trend to study and get ahead in one's profession. This increased recognition of the need to study has perhaps brought some students into folk high schools.

In 1966-67, the total number of students in Finnish provincial folk high schools (2, 119) represented 39.8% of all 5,320 Finnish folk high school students. The student body has continued to become younger during the modern period as Table 4 indicates.

TABLE 4. THE AVERAGE AGE, BY PERCENT, OF FOLK HIGH SCHOOL STUDENTS IN SELECTED YEARS.[7]

Academic Years	Percentage of students aged 16	Percentage of students aged 17-20	Percentage of students aged 21 or over
1953-54	18.4	61.1	20.5
1955-56	21.1	62.2	16.7
1959-60	26.1	54.0	19.9
1960-61	26.4	54.2	19.4

[7] Maamme Kansanopisto 75-vuotias, p. 42.

The percentage of students from the agrarian population has decreased since World War II.[8] In 1945-46, it was 77.5%; but in 1960-61, only 66.7%. This decrease is understandable, however, since 72.4% of the population lived in the countryside in 1945, compared to only 61.8% in 1960. By 1960, only 31.7% living there got their daily bread from agriculture and forestry, compared to 41.5% in 1950.

[8] Vuoden 1958 Kansanopistokomitean Mietintö, p. 36f.

V.
THE TEACHERS AND PRINCIPALS IN THE PROVINCIAL FOLK HIGH SCHOOL

Generally speaking, in 1900 the principals of the fifteen Finnish-speaking provincial folk high schools either had a master's degree in some field or were trained ministers. A few years later, elementary school teachers and others without an academic degree also acted as principals. Since the beginning there have been, in almost every folk high school, an assistant principal and a principal. In most cases, the assistant has been a female and the principal a male. In any case, the assistant principal and the principal must be of opposite sex.

The salaries of the principals in that period ranged from 3,000 to 4,800 marks and those of the teachers from 400 to 3,200 marks, depending on their educational background. In addition to their salaries, almost all got free housing, lighting, and heating; unmarried teachers also received their meals during the semester.

Principal Liakka stated clearly in 1913[1] the main qualifications of a folk high school teacher in that period. In his opinion, to be a good teacher required experience and practice. He had to be familiar with the subjects to be taught, the folk high school idea, and youth education. The latter he was expected to do by a penetrating study of the works of Grundtvig and other leading figures. He was expected to be a good orator, by which Liakka meant the ability to understand a human being, the depth of human life, and to be able to speak from his heart. He should see life as so promising and encouraging that he could encourage the students to live, and he should be able to explain and advise them in the difficult task of living.

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[1] Liakka, "Kansanopistonopettajain valmistautumisesta tehtäväänsä," in Suomalainen Kansanopisto 2, 1914, pp. 6-22.

Although Liakka personally preferred a university education for teachers, he did not consider a university diploma sufficient. He demanded that teachers broaden their general knowledge. He reminded teachers, whether those of theoretical or practical subjects, to aim at the intellectual and moral development of the students in their education. It was impossible, in his opinion, to teach any subject to be useful in the students' later life without knowing the local conditions and the beliefs into which the young people had grown.

In the academic year 1920-21, there were 220 teachers in 29 Finnish-speaking folk high schools and 74 teachers in 14 Swedish-speaking ones. In the 23 Finnish-speaking provincial folk high schools there were 170 teachers, or about 7 per folk high school.

In the 1930's about one-third of the teachers were younger than thirty-five years and about 5% were over sixty. The average age of teachers and principals was about forty. They had served, on the average, a little more than ten years. Promotions on the jobs were rare.

In general, the teachers had an education that made them competent in their fields. Among the principals nearly 80% had an academic degree. Only about 30% of the teachers had an academic degree. Among the largest group of teachers, those in manual training and home economics, none had an academic degree because they were considered competent for their position after having attended an appropriate training school, which most of them had done.

After 1925, to be able to become a folk high school principal,[2] a person had to have an M. A. degree, a certificate in pedagogics, and at least one semester of successful practice as a teacher in a folk high school.

In the early 1920's, teachers were able to get teachers' training in any folk high school, even in those whose teachers themselves needed training. Trainees were, for the most part, teachers of practical subjects. At the end of the 1920's there were no principal trainees, and all the teacher

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[2] Suomen Asetuskokoelma, 1925, No. 269, Asetus kansanopistoista, IV, par. 12, p. 899.

trainees had been Finnish-speaking. This training had been taken care of by the trustees of the Finnish Folk High School Association, which also had given assistance through scholarships. According to the old custom, the trainees were considered also as students. In some folk high schools, as late as 1934 teacher trainees were used as teachers even in subjects in which there was not a competent teacher.

According to the word and spirit of the folk high school law, the statute, and the bylaws of the folk high schools, the principal had to be familiar with educational and pedagogic tasks. He was supposed to arrange the internal matters of a folk high school and supervise the teaching and educational activities, and thus affect the development of his teachers. It was on his suggestion that the teachers were selected. He was not, however, able to order teachers to do this or that. He was expected to promote himself intellectually and to try to obtain increased economic aid and other support. A new principal was allowed to make changes, though, especially if they reflected the changes of the times. The teachers could not support their opinions merely by appealing to old traditions.

There is no regulation on what kind of teachers a folk high school should have. The board of trustees of a folk high school can develop a new job to meet a need any time. At present there are the following types of teachers in addition to the principals:

1. Teachers of theoretical subjects who teach subjects such as education, geography, history, mother tongue, natural science, political economy, social science, and politics

2. Teachers of vocational subjects, such as agriculture, home economics, sewing, wood and metal work

3. Teachers of training subjects who teach music and physical education

It is to be noted, however, that especially the teachers in small folk high schools sometimes teach subjects for which they do not have any formal training.

In 1958-59[3] there were a total of 470 Finnish-speaking and 90 Swedish-speaking chief occupational teachers, and 234 Finnish-speaking and 68 Swedish-speaking teachers hired by the hour. Of these there were, in 24 Finnish-speaking provincial folk high schools, 194 chief occupational teachers and 83 teachers hired by the hour.

The principals are now required to practice at least twenty-four weeks to be qualified for their jobs according to the change in the statute in 1955. The training program for teachers in a folk high school lasts fourteen weeks. The training has two parts: general and special (this part lasts four weeks for principals and teachers).

During this period of general training one is expected to (1) become familiar with his own teaching subject by observing someone teaching it and by practicing the teaching of it; (2) follow the educational work in general in that folk high school; and (3) become acquainted with folk high school education in general by participating in the life in that folk high school. In addition to the basic ten-week training period, the principal trainee, during an additional ten weeks, must become acquainted with the special duties of a principal. The trainees are required to show their ability as teachers by teaching at least three successive training hours under observation. Two of the ten weeks are allowed for the trainee to become familiar with the work of other folk high schools in Finland or in Scandinavia. This travel-study is compulsory for the principal trainees. Successful completion of an examination which tests one's knowledge of adult education or of pedagogy is also required for all trainees.

After passing the special part of the training, the trainee must have some knowledge of folk high school education in general, the psychology of young people, the school system, and adult education.

During the earlier periods there were only general statements in the folk high school legislation on the status of teachers. There were no regulations on their salaries, and their selection did not need to be ratified by the Central Board of Schools. These problems were solved in the 1950

[3] Ibid., pp. 318-323.

legislation. According to the new statute, the salaries of teachers are organized on the same grounds as those of the government officials. The trustees of a folk high school have the privilege of deciding the accurate salary according to the work of each teacher, but the Central Board of Schools sets the limits in which the salaries have to be in order to qualify for state aid.

Until 1956 the salaries were not quite comparable with each other in the folk high schools. That year free housing as a part of salary was rejected. Thus principals, assistant principals, and teachers of home economics began to pay rent for their living quarters which every folk high school has to provide for them according to the statute. The salary consists of (1) the basic salary which is comparable to that of secondary school teachers; (2) age bonuses, of which five are given at three-year intervals; (3) additional pay of the locality; and (4) extra pay in the border regions. After ten years of service, those teachers with an academic degree may get a small salary raise. If a teacher works more than the required amount of hours a week, he does not get extra salary as the secondary school teachers do.

According to the new legislation, the retirement pay is also given on the same grounds as that given to the government officials. Teachers normally retire at the age of sixty-seven;[4] however, if the trustees of a folk high school so desire, the Central Board of Schools may let them hold their positions until they are seventy. The full retirement pay of a teacher is 66% of his basic salary added to five age bonuses. The owner of the folk high school pays the retirement pay.

According to the statute, the compulsory minimum teaching load of teachers is twenty hours a week; but there is no regulation, in terms of teaching load, for the principals. Because the teachers have to guide the exercise work of students, counsel them, prepare common parties and festivals with students, and supervise and take part in these various occasions, the teachers actually work from thirty-five to forty hours a week. Although

[4] Laki kansanopistojen valtionavusta, 1950, par. 6a.

the academic year of the folk high schools is somewhat shorter than in other educational institutes, the work load of the teachers is comparable to the load in those institutes.

VI.
FOLK ACADEMIES AND NONPROVINCIAL TYPES OF FOLK HIGH SCHOOLS

This chapter describes the special features of folk academies and nonprovincial types of folk high schools. Because of their important relation to present folk high school education in Finland and because many of them are provincial by nature, the folk academies, a higher form of folk high school education, get more attention than the other forms. Christian folk high schools are also described in some detail due to their great number and importance in modern folk high school education. The labor-oriented and other types of folk high schools are described only briefly to give the reader a general picture of their work and development.

The Folk Academies

The folk academies did not play any significant role before 1946, although the first folk academy (a Swedish-speaking one) had started its activities as early as 1908, and the first Finnish-speaking one began in 1917. As late as 1945 their number still consisted of only four Finnish-speaking and one Swedish-speaking folk academy, and represented about 7.5% of all folk high schools in Finland. But by the school season of 1950-51 there were 14 Finnish-speaking and two Swedish-speaking folk academies. By 1966 there were 19 Finnish-speaking folk academies and three Swedish-speaking folk academies. The percentage of folk academy students in selected years in the total folk high school student body confirms this growth: 1938-39, 7.9%; 1950-51, 18.1%; and 1966-67, 26.8%.

The name folk academy is used to describe a folk high school with a second year course. There are some significant differences between the

folk high school proper and folk academy education. They can be summarized as follows:[1]

	The folk academy education	The folk high school proper education
1.	Independent study is emphasized	Students share common teaching to a great extent
2.	The program of teaching is mainly theoretical	Many practical subjects are taught
3.	Teaching is focused and aims at study achievements	Teaching is general
4.	If students do not pass, they do not get any certificates	Everybody gets a certificate at the end of the school season
5.	Lectures are dominant	Discussion type classes are dominant
6.	Students are older	Students are younger

The folk academies differ from the folk high schools proper in teaching methods, in concentration on certain subject areas, in the aims of teaching and studying, and in the nature of their student body. Whereas in folk high schools proper agriculture, home economics, and manual training get much attention, they are not required or emphasized in the programs of instruction of folk academies.

According to the law, the folk academies have to operate twenty-four weeks a year beginning in September or October; in practice, however, most of them have a twenty-eight week school season. In addition, many folk academies arrange summer courses. In the summer of 1966,[2] for example, ten folk academies offered a total of seventeen different courses

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[1] Oksanen, "Kansanopisto-Kansankorkeakoulu-Kaksi vai yksi[2]," in Kansanopisto 1965, No. 5, pp. 100-101.

[2] Karttunen, "Kesäkurssien oppilaat 1966" in Kansanopisto 1966, No. 9-10, p. 229.

in which 262 males and 417 females participated. The well-established summer courses include various language courses at the Viittakivi Institute and Workers' Academy, courses for shop stewards of various trade unions at the Trade Union Institute, music courses at the Orivesi Institute for amateur musicians, and the summer gymnasium (the three upper classes of the Finnish eight-year high school) by the Youth Institute of Finland. Summer courses usually last from six to eight weeks.

The folk academies are boarding schools, in whose dormitories two students share a room, if possible. Every folk academy also has, in addition to appropriate classrooms, a library and a reading room with its reference library.

The 1949 Folk Academy Committee listed six main purposes for the folk academies:[3]

1. To help the students fulfill their place in society properly by edcating them to understand the different aspects of social life and their togetherness, the importance of responsibility, and judgment in preserving the grounds of democratic social order

2. To help students learn independent ways of thinking

3. To help students see the importance of continued education

4. To take into account the students' needs of vocational training

5. To provide educational opportunity for those talented persons who in their youth have neglected their formal schooling

6. To enable students to concentrate on some subject in which they have a special interest

The programs of instruction in various folk academies have been different from each other; nevertheless, their teaching concentrated on five categories

[3] Kansankorkeakoulukomitean Mietintö, pp. 29-34.

before 1950: (1) social, (2) humanistic, (3) natural science-mathematical, (4) vocational, and (5) a category known as "training and other subjects."[4] The social subjects included history, social science, political economy, geography, political science, community theory, social politics, the co-operative movement, trade union theory, temperance, and general health education. Church history, congregational work, literature, music, elementary philosophy, and religion belonged to humanistic subjects. Natural science-mathematical subjects were comprised of algebra, anatomy, astronomy, biology, chemistry, geology, geometry, natural history, and physics. The vocational subjects were agriculture, book-keeping, theory of commerce, business correspondence, gardening, home economics, and manual training. "Training and other subjects" included arithmetic, child care, courses on how to plan and deliver a discourse, foreign languages, gymnastics, library science, mother tongue, physical education, play, recital and theatre, shorthand, singing, and typing.

According to the 1958 Folk High School Committee, those folk academies whose main purpose is to educate in civic and general cultural matters are to be called folk academies of "general line"; those devoted to some special task are folk academies of "special line." The proposal also stated accurately which subjects should be taught in folk academies of general line. The program of instruction proposed by the 1958 Committee runs parallel with that of the 1960 Committee of the Finnish Folk High School Association. The folk academies have followed to a great extent the proposed program of instruction.

In folk academies of general line all students follow the teaching in basic subjects and take examinations in them. These basic subjects form a common basis for all studies; they include Finnish history, mother tongue, general social science, and general lectures. Actual events and questions concerning the general view of life, as well as presentations on the physical-biological picture of the world, form the nucleus of the lectures.

Examination subjects form the core of the teaching program, and each subject contains a basic, a continuation, and a special course. Normally,

[4] Ibid., p. 41.

teaching is offered only in the two first courses, for the special course requires independent study under the guidance of a teacher. To pass the special course the student has to write a short research paper. The student also has the opportunity to go deeply into the special questions of a subject he chooses. Students must pass an examination in at least three subjects, and they must belong to at least two subject areas of the following list:[5]

1. Religious subjects
   a. Bible theory
   b. Congregation theory

2. Educational subjects
   a. Adult and general education
   b. Ethics and psychology

3. Humanistic subjects
   a. History
   b. Literature

4. Social Subjects
   a. Community theory
   b. Political economy and cooperative theory
   c. Social politics
   d. Social science, sociology, and political science

5. Natural science subjects
   a. Geography
   b. Natural science

6. Agricultural subjects
   a. Agriculture
   b. Agricultural politics

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[5] Vuoden 1958 Kansanopistokomitean Mietintö, p. 101.

In his three examination subjects the student must pass, at least, (1) a basic course in one of the subjects; (2) a continuation course in another subject; and (3) a special course in the third subject. In addition to this compulsory requirement, the students are allowed to pursue grades in other examinations or additional subjects.

The folk academy students are allowed to choose their additional subjects from the following subject areas in schools in which they are available:[6] (1) arts: (a) history of the fine arts, (b) music, and (c) pictorial arts; (2) organizational and interest activities: (a) amateur acting, (b) bookkeeping, (c) hobbying, (d) oral diction, (e) ogranization theory, (f) typing, and (g) youth work; (3) home and health education: (a) home care, (b) hygienics, and (c) manual training; (4) mathematics: (a) algebra, (b) arithmetic, and (c) geometry; (5) languages: (a) English, (b) German, (c) Russian, and (d) the second national language (Swedish or Finnish); (6) physical education.

The folk academies of special line are either vocational in character or they concentrate on some subjects or subject areas. They must have the basic subjects in their programs of instruction, and in general their teaching must equal that of folk academies of general line in quantity and quality. What other subjects and how much they teach depends on their special aims. So, for instance, Luther Institute educates congregational workers, Trade Union Institute helps organizations get competent workers, Joutseno Institute educates students for temperance work, and Viittakivi Institute for internationalism. A folk academy can be either of general line, or of special line, or it may have both lines.

The students attend folk academies voluntarily, but they have to meet some basic entrance requirements. The aim has been to keep the passing of a folk high school proper course or the equivalent as a minimum requirement. The folk high school statute requires the minimum entrance age of seventeen years for both men and women.

The number of students has increased enormously during the nearly fifty-year existence of folk academies, as can be seen in Table 5 on the following page.

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[6] Ibid., p. 102.

TABLE 5. THE TOTAL NUMBER OF STUDENTS BY SEX IN FINNISH- AND SWEDISH-SPEAKING FOLK ACADEMIES IN SELECTED YEARS

Academic Years	Finnish-speaking				
	Men		Women		
	No.	%	No.	%	Total
1910-11					
1920-21	17	54.8	14	45.2	31
1930-31					201
1938-39	111	44.2	140	55.8	251
1956-57	358	40.2	531	59.8	889
1966-67	425	29.9	995	70.1	1420

Academic Years	Swedish-speaking				
	Men		Women		
	No.	%	No.	%	Total
1910-11	16	61.5	10	38.5	26
1920-21	20	66.6	10	33.4	30
1930-31	12	38.7	19	61.3	31
1938-39	14	43.7	18	56.3	32
1956-57	28	19.4	116	80.6	144
1966-67	43	21.0	162	79.0	205

The Christian Folk High Schools

In general, it can be said that the desire among certain citizens to keep their children in fear of God gave rise to various types of Christian folk high schools. Their birth just prior to World War I can perhaps also be considered a counteraction to the many radical movements which arose against church and religion during the last decades of the 19th century.

It has been stated in the bylaws of Christian folk high schools proper that, in addition to Christian virtues, their purpose is to arouse love for everything which is native. These schools, like others, also try to further the development of personality, to give civic education stressing responsible political and social participation, and to further moral characteristics and independence. Tarna[7] sees their purpose as mainly that of keeping up the tradition of their forefathers: (1) love for God's word and their church; (2) the Lutheran confession of faith while furthering the viewpoint of the sect which founded them.

In the Christian folk high schools all the work is based on God's word and the gospels. Although they are social and civic-educational, they see their most important task in reviving and taking care of the students' inner relationship with God. It has been said that a folk high school is a home, but a Christian folk high school is more; it is a faith-professing Christian home.

Reflected in their programs of instruction, according to statistics of a representative three-year period, their average weekly program in teaching hours was as follows:[8] agriculture, 6; arithmetic, 2; bookkeeping, 1; church history, 2; geography, 1; gymnastics, 1; health education, 1; history, 3; home economics, 2; literature, 2; mother tongue, 2; natural science, 1; practical home economics and manual training, 16; manual training theory, 1; religion, 3; singing, 4; social science and political economy, 1.

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[7] Tarna, Miika, Kristillinen kansanopisto ja kansankirkko, p. 128.

[8] Tarna, op. cit., p. 123.

The development of Christian folk high schools shows an interesting picture. Before 1907 there were none, and before national independence in 1917 only two were operating; however, between the years 1925-1945 only Christian folk high schools were founded (12 Finnish-speaking and 3 Swedish-speaking). Since 1945, 2 Swedish and 10 new Finnish Christian folk high schools have begun their activities, so that by 1967 there were 32 Finnish and 6 Swedish Christian folk high schools.

In Finnish-speaking Christian folk high schools the women students have held a big majority, which is reflected in Table 6.

TABLE 6. THE TOTAL NUMBER OF STUDENTS BY SEX IN FINNISH-SPEAKING CHRISTIAN FOLK HIGH SCHOOLS IN FIVE SELECTED ACADEMIC YEARS[9]

Academic Years	No. of folk high schools	Men		Women		Total
		No.	%	No.	%	
1928-29	12	220	22.9	738	77.1	958
1938-39	15	278	22.7	949	77.3	1227
1948-49	26	293	20.9	1109	79.1	1402
1958-59	30	551	25.8	1585	73.9	2136
1966-67	32	594	23.2	1961	76.8	2555

The Labor-Oriented Folk High Schools

In the academic year 1966-67 there were 5 labor-oriented folk high schools, of which 2 were folk high schools proper and 3 were separate folk academies. In the former there were 83 students, of which 36.1% were men, and in the latter there were 206 students, of which 60.2% were men.

[9] Kansanopisto, 1928 No. 11, p. 29, 1929 No. 9-10, p. 16, 1938 No. 10, p. 289, 1948 No. 9-10, pp. 218-219, 1958 No. 10, p. 286f, and 1966 No. 9-10, p. 235f.

The oldest among the labor oriented folk high schools is Workers' Academy, founded in 1924. Its purposes are as follows:[10] (1) to provide for young rural and urban workers more profound and purposeful studies than they could get in workers' institutes; (2) to create for young workers an opportunity to study in a folk academy whose spirit and background are appropriate; and (3) to give the members of various labor organizations, organized and led by the Workers' Educational Association, systematic, concentrated, and scholarly education.

The extreme left founded the second labor-oriented folk high school in Finland in 1946. Sirola Institute, situated near Hameenlinna, is a folk academy which also operates a three-month preparation and a six-month continuation course. It was founded (1) to make its students familiar with the theoretical, economic, and philosophical doctrines developed by the theoreticians of the labor movement; (2) to teach skills necessary in organization life; (3) to prepare students to take part in communal and social life; and (4) to provide general culture.[11]

Its school season is nine months in length. Another special feature has been that its program of instruction is a fixed whole which, to a great extent, is common and compulsory for all students. Its main part consists of historical, economic, and training subjects as well as of subjects on the view of life and civic knowledge. Students are prepared for studies in the folk academy by a correspondence course sponsored by Sirola Institute. It contains Finnish language, mathematics, and social knowledge.

In 1950 the Central Union of Finnish Trade Unions (SAK) founded the third labor-oriented folk high school. It is also a separate folk academy and draws students from various parts of Finland. Like the two earlier ones, it mainly attracts older married people whose average age is much higher than is generally found in the other folk academies.

Its main purpose is twofold: to raise adult citizens' social, economic, and general culture; and to develop independent thinking and social responsibility. The program of instruction concentrates on social, economic,

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[10] Kansankorkeakoulukomitean Mietintö, p. 21.

[11] Kansankorkeakoulukomitean Mietintö, p. 25.

and social-political subjects as well as on trade union theory. Humanistic and natural science subjects also are taught. Contrary to Workers' Academy which can be labeled as being conservative in teaching methods, Trade Union Institute experiments with new ones.

Vaino Voionmaa Institute was founded (near Tampere, 1951) for the working youth by the Vaino Voionmaa Foundation. Its program of instruction, modeled after that of Workers' Academy, includes subjects of instruction which are compulsory for all. Instead of religion, history of socialism and the labor movement are taught. This does not, however, mean that the Institute would tolerate any anti-religious actions taken by the students.

In the mid-1950's the twenty-eight week school season contained[12] 274 teaching hours in humanistic subjects; 215 hours in social; 90 hours in natural science; 125 hours in training; and about 250 hours in elective subjects which included bookkeeping, speech and theatre, typing, shorthand, and Swedish. Other work, study circles, and quiet hours comprised altogether 220 hours. During the quiet hours students study under the guidance of teachers.

The Vaino Voionmaa Foundation and SAK founded in 1956 the North Institute, situated in the northern part of Finland. It is the only labor-oriented folk high school in which men are in a minority. Like many other folk high schools proper, it also arranges one-month courses. They are abridgments of the usual winter course and are adapted especially for lumbermen.

Half of the teaching hours are devoted to history, community theory, political economy, political science, trade union theory, fiction, health education, and lectures on natural science and the special problems of northern Finland. History is the basic subject through which the newest cultural, economic, and social development is pictured for students. The

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[12] Saarela-Johansson, "Väinö Voionmaan Opisto," in Kansanopisto 1957, No. 6-7, p. 143.

teaching, which does not always follow the chronological order, concentrates on Finnish history and that of the labor movement. Mother tongue and organization theory take the most teaching hours. Arithmetic, bookkeeping, singing, sports, and typing are also taught.

The labor-oriented folk high schools are noted for the effective student programs of self-government. In their social education they try to meet the needs of the students who later work in the organizational activities of the labor movement or in communal and political jobs. Only Sirola Institute can be thought of as a party institute, although officially it is not one. If it were it would not be eligible for state aid.

Other Types of Folk High Schools

The remaining folk high schools form a heterogeneous group, three of which (Alkio Institute, Joutseno Institute, and Youth Institute of Finland) can be labeled as organization folk high schools; Lappi Folk Academy and Viittakivi Institute represent settlement work; and Hoikka Institute serves the goals of rehabilitation. All of them except Youth Institute were founded after 1945. Among these forms there is no Swedish-speaking folk high school.

In the fall of 1966[13] there were 360 students in all these schools combined. Youth Institute in Finland had the most (99) and Viittakivi Institute the least number of students (37). Women were in a clear majority in all of them except in Hoikka Institute, in which there were 26 men and 20 women.

Youth League of Finland founded Youth Institute of Finland in 1923 as a folk academy. The main purpose of the Youth Institute has always been the schooling of youth workers and intensified self-education. As youth leaders and in terms of theory, they are made familiar with the various sides of popular education in the countryside. This Institute has concentrated its endeavors in the field of amateur theater, chorus recitation, music, and various types of hobbies, which also get a great bulk of teaching hours.

[13] Kansanopisto 1966, No. 9-10, pp. 235-236.

Mother tongue, physical education, and social subjects are also emphasized. It attracts students from everywhere in the country, although the least come from Lapland and the province around Helsinki.

The League of Country Youth founded Alkio Institute in 1947. From the beginning it has operated as a folk academy, but differs from the others in its purpose of educating country youth to understand the special interests of rural life and to be willing to further these special needs in organizational life and in society in general. Because of its rather narrow purpose, agricultural and social subjects play an important role in the program of instruction; however, humanistic subjects also are taught. This Institute also gets its students from all over the country, mostly from the homes of farmers.

Joutseno Institute was founded as a folk high school proper in 1950, but seven years later it also began to operate a folk academy. The program aims at furthering Finnish-national and Christian-social attitudes in students as well as convincing them that the sober way of life is the best of all. This last-mentioned purpose reflects the ideas of founding fathers as well as those of the society of supporters. The humanistic subjects dominate the program of instruction and civic organization as well as temperance work get much practical emphasis. Social-economic and natural science subjects are also offered. Interest activities have concentrated on dramatic art, music, physical education, and regional research.

Viittakivi Institute was founded by the Christian-Social Workcenter League in 1951 to gather people from various walks of life to ponder the various aspects of the problem of people living together and how to improve it in the spirit of mutual love. The students are taught to feel responsible for the whole society and to love other people in deeds and truth. They receive training for social jobs, and various practical exercises in humanistic and social subjects are designed to help students get a holistic view of common problems.

Hoikka Institute, in Karkku, was founded by the Tuberculosis League in 1952 to aid former TB patients and help them adjust to their plans of

life according to their new situation. Its main purpose is to strengthen the convalescent's spiritual life through new interests, faith in life, and instruction in learning a new trade when this is necessary.

The Lappi Folk Academy is the first and only folk academy in Lapland. It was founded by Workcenter Rovala at Rovaniemi in 1954. True to the idea of a workcenter, it is neutral politically as well as in other respects. The students have been able to select their own from among the following study lines: social, agricultural, and a general one. The last line, for the most part, represents humanistic subjects. The core of the program of teaching consists of social subjects.

The six heterogenous folk high schools described above do not form a spiritually related group. In their spirit they reflect provincial or Christian folk high schools, but differ from them because of their special tasks, the nature of their teaching programs, and the special character of their different associations of supporters.

VII.
THE FOLK HIGH SCHOOLS AND THE STATE

As early as the 1891 Diet, four state-aid petitions for folk high schools signed by nineteen representatives were submitted. As to the amount of aid requested, all of them were different, but all stated the major idea which had been presented earlier to support folk high schools, e.g., that elementary schools were not sufficient to meet the growing desire for knowledge among those people who could not afford to attend a high school.

The committee report was favorable for high schools and justified its positive stand on the following grounds:[1]

1. They were important as educational institutes for national independence because they heightened the educational level of the people.

2. There were not enough educational institutes to meet the educational needs of the people.

3. According to the experience in other countries, the folk high schools aroused interest in general knowledge and patriotic pursuits; helped to refine manners and to prevent drunkeness; and in Finland they underlined the value of manual labor.

4. There were enough competent persons for their principals, on whose actions their success greatly depended.

In the report, the members of the committee also expressed the hope that the folk high schools would continued along their chosen practical line and would meet the needs of the area in which they operated.

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[1] Wilska, op. cit., p. 126f.

In the four estates many supported state aid for the folk high schools; consequently, in the final petition sent to the senate, the government was asked to appropriate 45,000 marks (this was the decision of the Estates of the Nobility, Burgesses, and Peasantry) for folk high schools or similar private educational institutes during 1892-1894.

Because, in Governor General Heiden's opinion, the folk high school idea was foreign; there were not yet enough experiences with their usefulness; and they did not meet the local needs, he hoped that the Czar would not pay any attention to the petition. The Czar did not. This resolution taken by Heiden was more than natural, for he represented the Russian oppression whose aim was to destroy what the folk high school wanted to further: the national and political independence of Finland.

This situation lasted until 1905 when, in spite of the good attempts of the Estates, the russification policy was in full force, and all petitions came to nothing. Fortunately, the folk high schools received money from private sources.

After the general strike in 1905, the government accepted the folk high schools; and from 1906 on, except for two years, all folk high schools received state aid. It was during 1915 and 1916 that only private persons and communities helped the folk high schools because the state needed its money for the war. In 1908 the principle of the relationship between the amount of basic state aid and the number of students was stated for the first time. Thus, the folk high school with at least forty students received 7,000 marks, and those with seventy or more students received 8,000 marks. In addition to this basic aid, the state often gave money for building purposes.

After Finnish independence in 1917, the state showed its appreciation of folk high schools and of adult education in general by founding the Office of the Inspector of Adult Education in 1918. Mikander, a famous folk high school principal, was appointed to this position. Although he was the first Finnish inspector of adult education, it did not mean that he was the first to make inspections in folk high schools. Although the inspector was a member of the Central Board of Schools, he did not have the authority to handle all affairs concerning adult education. Therefore, in December, 1930, a Finnish school counselor was elected to take care of adult education. Saikku, a former folk high school principal and the inspector of

adult education since 1924, was appointed to this position. Strangely enough, the Swedish-speaking adult education programs had been supervised by a school counselor for a number of years.

Not until 1926 did the folk high schools enjoy regular statutory state aid, at which time the law on state aid became effective. It ended the more-or-less free development of folk high schools, but it safeguarded their existence under certain conditions. This law was based on the proposal made by a four-member state committee in 1923. It is to be remembered that only those activities of folk high schools which applied to the granting of state aid and its conditions became statutory. In practice, this law did not bind in detail the activities of folk high schools.

The Parliament members favored the law proposal in general. Only on one question was there much dispute among the members, viz., whether the Christian folk high schools should also get state aid. As a result of this heated debate, the end of the disputed clause of the fourth paragraph was changed to the following:[2] ". . . teaching must be conducted along the principles suitable for youth, skillfully, with devotion and without party agitation." Thus, those Christian circles which had until then founded ten folk high schools were able to send their children into folk high schools which resembled the atmosphere of their homes and surroundings. The resolution was good, for these folk high schools have later on, although one-sided in orientations, kept their position with honor among other folk high schools.

The law granted state aid on the basis of six categories:[3] (1) basic aid, (2) aid based on the number of students, (3) aid for age bonuses of teachers, (4) aid for poor students, (5) aid for building purposes, and (6) aid for acquiring teaching material. Those folk high schools in poor districts or border regions could get 20% more basic aid. Very beneficial was the regulation, by virtue of which a folk high school received annually 20%

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[2] Suomen Asetuskokoelma, 1925, No. 233, Laki kansanopistojen valtionavusta, par. 4, 5.

[3] Ibid., par. 1, 1-6.

(in poor districts and border regions 30%) aid for building expenses and 1% for repairs. The basic figure was based on the value of the buildling according to the basis for estimating as set by the state council. Schools received state aid for teaching materials at the rate of two-thirds of their price. Teachers began to receive three age bonuses, one after each five-year period. According to the law of 1925, the trustees of a folk high school became responsible for economic matters. The law itself only stated that the salaries of teachers should be reasonable.

The state gave; the state took. In other words, the Central Board of Schools issued standards for folk high schools' bylaws, such as how to make plans of instruction and annual reports. This was, however, beneficial because earlier no plans of instruction were used and annual reports were inaccurate. As early as 1915 the Central Board of Schools had given advice on pedagogy and plans of instruction in its circulation letters, but the first statutory bylaws of folk high schools became effective in 1926. All these regulations were in effect until the end of the 1950's. They did not affect the spirit and content of folk high schools, perhaps because they were formulated by inspector Saikku who had been a folk high school principal himself. Especially beneficial was the effect of the law in making the teacher's job a permanent one, in indirectly raising their salaries, and in radically reducing the turn-over of teachers.

The 1930 Parliament promulgated a new law based on percentile aid which was quite a help to folk high schools, especially because their expenses had doubled since 1926. The state aid was increased and distributed more evenly. All folk high schools then began to receive 65% of their actual expenses; those either in border regions or otherwise poor got an additional 15% aid. The law of 1930 considered as actual expenses all salaries, the rental value of their own buildings, necessary rents, heating and lighting, teaching and library materials, necessary fixtures, and publishing. This law did not provide money for new buildings; instead, the folk high schools began to get aid based on the rental value of the buildings. Because it had to be counted according to the guiding principles set by the government, this aid could, in the case of necessity, be easily changed through administrative actions. This law with minor changes directed the activities of folk high schools until 1950.

In 1937 the law was changed concerning the aid for poor students, who from then on began to get 200-600 marks (earlier 100-400) for folk high schools proper and 400-800 (earlier 200-600) marks for folk academies per year per student.

Moreover, the founding of a folk high school became regulated by a law which was the same as that of 1919 which regulated private and other educational schools. According to it, a folk high school could be founded if its purpose was not against law or good manners. In addition to this basic regulation, it was required to have a working program which, in turn, had to be ratified by the state council. This way it also came under the supervision of the Central Board of Schools and thus became responsible for reporting about its activities. But in order to get state aid, this working program had to be along the lines prescribed in the law on the state aid of folk high schools and in the folk high schools statute.

A new folk high school law and statute became effective in 1950. This law meant better times for folk high schools, for the basis for state aid became more advantageous than in the 1930 law.

The new law brought about the following major changes:

1. The percentage of basic aid was raised to 70%. This aid they still receive only from certain items as stated in the law.[4] During its first two years, the new folk high school receives in state aid only 50% of the sum which it will get later on. Although the folk high schools do not now receive state aid for building purposes, they are not permitted to build without having the building plans approved by the Central Board of Schools.

2. The folk high schools of the border or economically poor regions began to receive up to 15% extra aid only for one year at a time and not, as earlier, until further provision. For instance, in 1961 thirty folk high schools got additional state aid based on this category in amounts ranging from 5% to 15%.

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[4] Laki kansanopiotojen valtionavusta, 1950, par. 4 and 5.

3. The folk academies began to receive extra aid, 15% out of their expenses in teachers' salaries, for acquiring new educational material and for publishing purposes.

4. The economically poor students could now receive up to 70% of their study expenses, whereas earlier the aid was a fixed sum. About 50-65% of the students sought state aid for study purposes on the basis of their economic poverty.

The incomes of the folk high schools in 1959 illustrate the role of state aid in relation to other sources of income. The incomes were derived from the following sources in the amounts represented by the following approximate percentages:

1. Fees = 4%

2. Room and Board = 12%

3. Societies of supporters and donations = 4.5%

4. State aid = 70%

5. New loans and temporary incomes = 9.5%

VIII.
THE FINNISH FOLK HIGH SCHOOL ASSOCIATION

Although the folk high school people had gathered together to discuss common problems as early as 1896, the Finnish Folk High School Association for professional folk high school workers was not founded until 1907. All folk high schools and chief occupational teachers are members.

Many school activities aided by the state are initiated by the Association. It receives state aid annually, and the Kordelin Foundation helps it financially by giving money for annual lecture courses for principals and teachers in folk high schools.

Its Board of Trustees consists of members from different types of folk high schools which also represent both of the language groups. Although the different types of folk high schools have their own meetings, they nevertheless pull together as members of the Association.

Since World War II the Association has become more active than before. On its initiative, textbooks for folk high schools have been published and it has published a magazine about folk school adult education, Kansanopisto, since 1956. Earlier it supported the publication only partially with funds. The Association also sponsors the northern folk high school meetings in Finland, the last of which took place in 1967. These meetings take place every three years, each time in a different Scandinavian country.

The Association coordinates, to a great extent, the international contacts of the folk high schools and school personnel. It gives scholarships for teachers to become acquainted with folk high schools abroad, and it tries to send a representative to as many international adult educational conferences as possible. It has tried to develop cooperation with other adult educational organizations both in Finland and abroad.

According to its bylaws, the major tasks of the Association are as follows:

1. To further the folk high school concept in Finland. Nowadays the main job is to make the folk high school work known to the public, which often has quite strange opinions of it. This has been done largely through the press, by arranging occasions at which information is handed out, and through festivals.

2. To further cooperation among various folk high schools.

3. To raise the standard of all teachers through lecture courses. These annual lecture courses are intended to make teachers in the various schools more familiar with each other's work as well as to be a continuation of their schooling. Courses designed for teachers of specialized subject areas are also arranged.

4. To try to raise the economic standard of teachers.

As in earlier times, the Finnish Folk High School Association organizes annually four- to six-day lecture courses which are attended by 200 to 300 principals and teachers. The topics range from areas of general knowledge to educational and pedagogical questions. The Association has also organized courses for teachers of various subjects. Attendance is not required, but teachers are urged to attend them and are even helped economically to do so.

The Association's present attention is centered on the adjustment process of the folk high schools caused by social changes, the changing social structure of students, the continued education of folk high school people, and the adjusting of teaching subjects and methods to the present needs.

A GLOSSARY OF TERMS

The following words are defined in order to assist the reader to understand the way in which they are used in this monograph to describe the folk high schools in Finland. These definititons, although not rigorously definitive, should be helpful to the reader.

Ambulatory Schools. Schools whose faculties moved from one place to another in order to serve several communities which did not have permanent schools; mainly served children from 1820 to about 1850.

Basic course. The lowest level course of an examination subject in a folk academy.

Bell-Lancastrian schools. A forerunner of Finnish elementary schools in the 1840's; schools in which advanced students served as teachers under the guidance of a teacher.

Burgesses. Essentially the middle class, including such persons as merchants and those in the professions.

Central Board of Schools. A governmental administrative body whose task has been the control and supervision of schools since 1870; at present contains departments, of which adult education is one; sometimes called The National Board of Schools.

Chief occupational teacher. A teacher who has received a permanent appointment in a folk high school; in some instances, a full-time teacher appointed tentatively for any length of time.

Continuation course. An intermediate-level course of an examination subject in a folk academy.

Diet. The Finnish four-estate Parliament until 1906.

Examination subjects. Those subjects that form the core of the folk academy curriculum; basically, subjects in the areas of social studies, humanities, and science.

Folk academy. A higher form of folk high school education than the one-year folk high school proper; normally, the second year of folk high school work.

Folk high school committee. A committee of leading figures in the fields of adult and folk high school education appointed by state council to investigate various aspects of folk high schools.

Folk high school proper. The traditional one-year folk high school; distinct from other programs often associated with the folk high school as an institution, such as the folk academy.

Four Estates. The classes of society called the nobility, clergy, burgesses, and peasantry which were represented in the Diet until 1906.

General line. A term used to describe a folk high school curriculum oriented to courses concerning civic and cultural affairs.

Institute. A folk high school proper which also operates a folk academy.

Kordelin Foundation. An organization founded in 1917 to promote Finnish science, literature, arts, and adult education.

Law. The will of the Parliament and president together published in the code of laws.

Mark. A Finnish monetary unit since 1860; present value, about $.24 in United States currency.

Practical subjects. Subjects which are quasi-vocational in character and which prepare students to do useful work with their hands.

Province. Originally a large fief dominated by a lord who lived in a castle; in recent times, a section of the country that is distinct from other sections by virtue of its geographical and cultural characteristics; Finland is comprised of nine such provinces.

Provincial folk high school. A folk high school founded by the people in a given province, for the benefit of the people in that province.

Special course. The highest-level course of an examination subject in a folk academy.

Special line. A term used to describe a folk high school curriculum oriented to specialization in fields other than civic and cultural affairs.

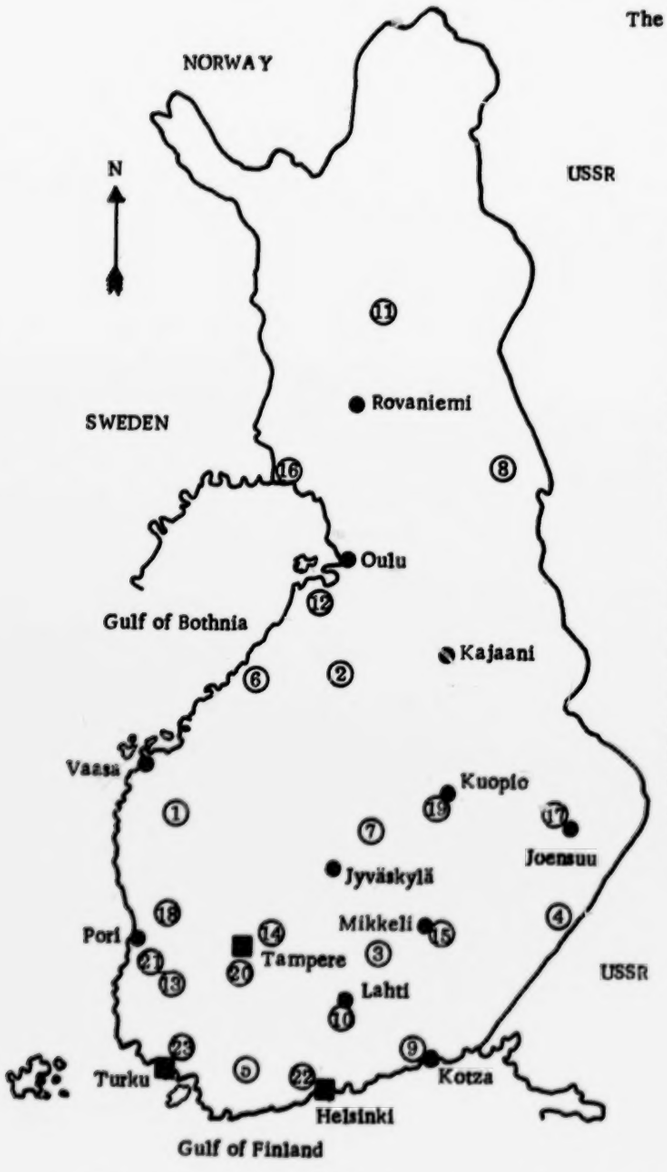
Statute. A legal proclamation made by the president, or by the State Council, and published in the code of laws.

Student nation. A student association of a university based on regional and language differences; politically active until the 1930's, especially during the last century.

Theoretical subjects. Subjects in the areas of the humanities and social sciences.

Vaino Voionmaa Foundation. An organization founded in 1945 which supports boarding schools of one-year duration which are meant for young adults of the working class.

The Location of Finnish-speaking Provincial Folk High Schools



The Finnish-speaking Provincial Folk High Schools

1. Etelä-Pohjanmaa
2. Haapavesi
3. Itä-Häme
4. Itä-Karjala
5. Kanneljärvi
6. Keski-Pohjanmaa
7. *Keski-Suomi
8. Kuusamo
9. Kymenlaakso
10. *Lahti
11. Lappi
12. Liminka
13. Länsi-Suomi
14. *Orivesi
15. *Otava
16. Peräpohjola
17. *Pohjois-Karjala
18. Pohjois-Satakunta
19. Pohjois-Savo
20. Päivölä
21. Räisälä
22. Tuusula
23. Varsinais-Suomi

* folk high schools proper which also operate a folk academy
■ cities with population over 100,000
● other major cities

scale: 50 miles

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